5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

439 communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring
437 communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal
438 trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade
[628] was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts, e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

433 *Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in
436 the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social
436 groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the
454 luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and
436 church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in
439 trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea,
[262] batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks' statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not depend on cash as a source of staple food.

171 The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines
436 capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in
439 progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.' Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they
511 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare, in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements. Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing problem.

Chapter 4

The cash economy

4. Income and expenditure[1]

Data collected from each household on its income and expenditure for 1962 are set out in Tables 6 and 7. There were no written records available to check the amounts which informants claimed they had received or paid but detailed discussions were held on each specific item and inconsistencies were re-examined. An average of $34 had passed through each householder's hands and he could fairly easily recall details of the major transactions.

Per capita income was approximately $6.60 for the year while expenditure was $8.20. The reduction during the year in the amount of cash in hand is due to the fact that individuals who had employment which terminated late in 1961 or early 1962 drew on cash reserves during 1962.

Of a total income of $328 for the 12 households, 27 per cent was derived from paid employment, 24 per cent from the sale of primary produce and 24 per cent from marriage payments; a further 13 per cent was money received from kin employed in other districts of Papua and 12 per cent came from kinsmen in the neighbourhood (see Table 6).

Major items of expenditure were store purchases of food, clothing, household utensils and other equipment such as a shotgun and torches. These accounted for 62 per cent of total expenditure. In many instances the goods were distributed or shared among 2 or 3 households of the expanded family and sometimes more widely than this. Some householders shared the receipts of large bride price with other kin during the year but no one had had to contribute to bride price payments on behalf of kin. Of $410 paid out by the 12 householders in this period 22 per cent

[1] Figures given in this section are corrected to the last digit given.

511
454

Table 7

Expenditure by 12 households

Items	Amount (nearest $)	Total	Household range	Average
Domestic:				
Food and household	96			
Clothing	42			
Utensils	28	166	0-40	14
Equipment:				
(including gun and cartridges)	90	90	0-56	8
Social obligations:				
Bride price and feast contributions	36			
Other gifts	52	88	0-20	8
Miscellaneous:				
Shares in O.C.G.S.*	20			
Tax (Council)	34			
Gambling	10			
Church donation	2	66	0-18	6
		410		34
Current savings:				
Individual				
Contributions to joint accounts	60		0-12	5

* Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society, which sells $10 shares (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:93).

•511
439

Table 4:4

Sivepi: non-traditional household property, November 1964
(Figures represent numbers of items)

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
No. of adults	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	3	2	3	2
Tools and equipment:											
Axe	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	2
Bush knife	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
Grass knife	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	2	2
Shovel/spade	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	1
Hoe	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fork	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pocket knife	2	4	1	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	1
Saw	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
File	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Hammer	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	1
Adze	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hula	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanner	-	-	-	-	-	1 set	-	-	-	-	-
Shotgun	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Sack	2	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Household:											
Cutlery	21	13	2	11	2	9	2	24	11	4	4
Cooking pot	3	3	1	1	-	4	1	4	4	2	3
Dish/plate	9	20	9	10	-	8	3	12	13	10	13
Mug/glass	2	9	1	5	-	4	-	3	2	5	4
Teapot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Needle and thread	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	-	-	Yes	Yes	-
Hurricane lamp	2	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	1
Torch	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Radio	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Personal:											
Blanket	2	3	-	-	1	4	1	2	3	1	1
Sheet	2	4	3	-	1	1	-	2	1	-	1
Pillow	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-	-
Mosquito net	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sleeping-mat	1	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	-
Towel	3	7	1	1	1	3	-	1	1	1	-
Groundsheet cape	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Suitcase/kitbag/pack	4	4	2	-	-	2	1	5	4	1	3
Laplap	9	2	1	-	-	2	11	3	5	2	1
Shirt/blouse/dress	5	4	3	4	2	2	1	7	6	2	2
Trousers/shorts/skirt	9	11	3	3	1	7	-	13	5	5	4
Underwear	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	1
Sweater/coat	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Footwear	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Belt	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Handkerchief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Hat	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hair oil/powder	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-
Comb/brush	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Toothbrush	-	1*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirror	2	2	-	2	-	1	1	2	3	2	1
Scissors	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biro/pencil	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Purse	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Lighter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Watch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-

[621]
[177]

* Acquired during the second world war!

Notes. 1. There is also some communally-held rubber-tapping equipment (tapping tools, spouts and a bucket) in the village, provided by the owner of the local rubber factory.

2. Considerable use is made of discarded metal containers, e.g. large cans for cooking pots, screw-top tobacco tins for lime, and beaten-out drums for hearths.

Company already operates a trade store with a liquor licence close to the village.

(e) Other household property

The inventory of property held by the eleven households was divided into 'non-traditional property' and 'property derived from the subsistence sector' (see Tables 4:6 and 4:7). These inventories reveal that, among non-traditional goods, the only items held by nine or more households are axes, bush knives, petos (for cutting grass), blankets, towels, suitcases etc., various outer garments, and mirrors. Clay pots, tapa cloths, combs, lime gourds and string bags are the main items of property derived from the subsistence sector. In addition, all households possess sleeping-mats either made locally from pandanus leaves or bought in a store. Although eight of the households possess hurricane lamps, they seldom have kerosene. Many of the tools were obtained during the second world war or distributed by the Administration after the eruption of Mt Lamington so that the people could re-establish their gardens.

Table 4:7

Sivepe: household property derived from the subsistence sector, November 1964

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
Tools											
Hunting net	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Wooden trough*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Household											
Clay pot	2	2	-	1	-	3	6	1	2	2	2
Gourd (water)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Personal											
Sleeping-mat	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	4	2	2	1	-	12	5	4	8	1
Comb	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	2
Bamboo pipe	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
Lime gourd	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	2	3	4
String bag	3	11	3	4	-	4	6	8	10	5	2
Drum	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Di and hambo**	-	20	10	9	-	5	2	6	9	-	18

* For fermenting coffee.

** Di are ornaments made from feathers and beaks of birds; hambo are shell ornaments. Items made from trade store beads or scrap metal, etc. are excluded.

511 Only one man owns a mosquito net and there is only one transistor
[207] radio in the village. Some of the older people still wear tapa
291 cloths but new ones are seldom made now. The more common form of
178 dress is a pair of shorts, a skirt or a laplap, the skirts being
[797] mostly sewn at mothers' union sewing classes run by the Anglican mission at Sasembata.

411 Two men in the sample own shotguns, costing $58.75 and $59.75.
[435] These are the only items in the village representing large capital outlays and several other men had made contributions of $2 and $6 towards their purchase, so they can borrow them in return.

342 None of the houses conforms to the traditional Orokaiva style,
178 but all are built wholly of local materials. They contain no raised platforms for sleeping, no shelves for food storage, and no cooking facilities other than an open fire. One man has built a 'kitchen extension' to his house while several other households cook primarily in shelters outside. Also, one man has built a simple table and bench outside and some members of the household occasionally eat at this.

312 A creek running beside the village provides the water for bath-
487 ing, cooking, laundering, washing dishes and pulping coffee. Paths
514 are narrow and unimproved despite constant use so that they become difficult to negotiate in wet weather. Not all households have pit latrines and those that do only use them irregularly. Small children often defecate on the village surrounds and standing water in various parts is a further health hazard.

Inonda

133 Inonda lands run from the low plains (200 feet above sea level),
134 beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers, into the foothills of the Hydrographers Range. They include a variety of landforms, soils and vegetation - one-third of the village lands are covered with soils of the Popondetta family, which are well-drained sandy loam volcanic soils, supporting grasslands of Saccharum spontaneum-Imperata cylindrica alliance; one-fifth consists of coarse-textured riverine deposits which are moist, apparently fertile and support forest and regrowth. These are preferred for food gardens, although gardens are also made on the lower valley slopes of the Hydrographers, where the soils consist of well-drained clay loams covered with dense forest or secondary growth. The soils of the foothills are shallow and stony, supporting lower montane rainforest and, as with
[311] the grasslands, this area is used only for hunting and foraging. The CSIRO survey classifies most of the Inonda lands as having moderate land-use potential.

454 (d) Monetary and other assets

Table 4:12 shows that the monetary assets of the village in November 1964 amounted to $166.70, or $10.40 per adult resident. In contrast with Sivepe, most (67 per cent) was invested in savings bank accounts and almost all the rest was held in cash. Only two men owned shares although householder 23 intended to buy some if those of either Oro Ltd or OCGS proved their value.

Table 4:12

Inonda: monetary assets of households, November 1964
($)

Household no.	Cash	Savings bank	Shares OCGS	Shares Oro Ltd	Total
16	12.95	16.18	10.00	-	39.13
17	3.90	-	-	-	3.90
18	0.80	-	-	-	0.80
19	-	-	-	-	-
20	1.50	36.00	-	10.00	47.50
21	3.00	20.00	-	-	23.00
23	1.07	20.00	-	-	21.07
24	11.80	19.50	-	-	31.30
Total	35.02	111.68	10.00	10.00	166.70

438 [444] In October 1963, the head of household 23 established a trade store, deriving most of his supplies on credit from Oro Ltd's wholesale store in Popondetta. His stock included tinned foodstuffs, rice, biscuits, sugar, salt, tea, soft drinks, chewing gum, cigarettes, trade tobacco, laundry soap, matches, kerosene, torch batteries, clothing, razor blades and playing cards. In addition, he obtained some goods from Chinese-owned stores where the wholesale prices, particularly for rice, were considerably lower. Store customers included people from Inonda and neighbouring villages and passers-by on the main road. Business was best between February and April 1964 when construction gangs were improving this road. By July, most of the villagers had moved to the new site and a new, better-stocked store was opened about two and a half miles away, and sales of the Inonda store began to decline. When the store-owner moved to the new site, he did not begin rebuilding the store until late in December and kept only a few goods (biscuits, tobacco and kerosene) in his house.

●511 177 (e) Other household property

Table 4:13 shows the inventories of household property acquired directly or indirectly from the cash sector of the economy, including

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

511
439

Table 4:13

Inuma: non-traditional household property, November 1964

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
No. of adults	4	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Tools and equipment:									
Axe	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	2
Bush knife	3	2	1	2	3	4	3	4	2
Grass knife	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2
Spade	4	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1
Hoe	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Rake	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Saw	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
File	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	2
Hammer	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	2
Chisel	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Measuring tape	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
Level	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
T-square	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ladder	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Swimming glass	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Fishing line	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Shotgun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Household:									
Cutlery	13	5	8	2	6	15	7	15	13
Cooking pot/kettle	12	7	4	-	3	4	4	6	3
Dish/plate	21	20	8	-	11	8	6	17	16
Mug/glass	2	3	1	-	3	-	1	7	6
Teapot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pressure lamp	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Hurricane lamp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Torch	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Bucket	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Water-drum	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
Iron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Broom	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Table	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
'Stool'*	2	4	-	2	4	3	1	5	2
Tea-towel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Personal:									
Blanket	6	1	2	1	1	2	-	3	1
Sheet	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
Pillow	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2
Mosquito net	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	2
Towel	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Suitcase/box/pack	3	2	1	-	1	2	1	4	1
Laplap	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Shirt/dress/blouse	13	4	1	3	3	13	-	11	4
Shorts/skirt	13	1	3	1	4	10	1	10	7
Underwear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
Pullover	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Footwear	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	-
Handkerchief	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Tie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Comb/hairbrush	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scrubbing brush	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mirror	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	1
Scissors	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Umbrella	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Pencil	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Watch	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-

* These are old mortar-bomb cases which, inverted, serve as stools.

[m]

trade stores and wartime dumps. Most of the tools used regularly were purchased, but those in less constant use, such as picks, rakes, hammers and saws were mostly salvaged. The 'swimming glass' (goggles for fishing) is the only common piece of equipment not used in Sivepe.

Inonda differs from Sivepe in household goods in that hurricane lamps are in common use, partly perhaps because kerosene is available at the trade store. More people own torches, which are often used when hunting by night. Mosquito nets also are far more common in Inonda (although many are in poor condition) and this in part is due to a higher incidence of mosquitoes. Four households possess 44-gallon drums to collect rainwater.

Several women make their own dresses and skirts and one has a flat-iron (which was not used during the survey). Laplaps are much less common in Inonda than in Sivepe.

The different environments of the two villages are illustrated by various items in Table 4:14.

Table 4:14

Inonda: household property derived from the subsistence sector

Household no.	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Item									
Sago-beater	4	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	2
Fishing net	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Spear	3	7	-	3	2	4	3	2	2
Sleeping mat	7	3	2	2	-	2	1	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	-	20	1	-	2	-	-	5
Comb	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lime pot	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
String bag	5	2	4	1	2	4	2	6	6
Drum	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Di and hambo	-*	28**	-	-**	7	-***	5	-***	-#
Clay pot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

* Kept by relative in another village; quantity unknown.
** Given to household 17 by household 19 who retains right of use.
*** Some given away in exchanges, others stolen.
# Unknown quantity kept by daughter in another village.

In Sivepe there are no hunting or fishing spears or fishing nets, nor are there any sago-beaters whereas most Inonda men possess both spears and sago-beaters. The greater number of tapa cloths in Sivepe is probably related to its greater distance from Popondetta, and so to the general level of acculturation. This likewise accounts for

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the slightly wider range of property evident in Inonda. Sivepe has slightly higher monetary assets than Inonda ($18.96 and $18.52 per household) and a slightly higher percentage of cash in hand (26.9 per cent compared with 21 per cent).

The substitution of imported items for equipment and property traditionally produced within the village has eased many subsistence tasks such as clearing bush and gardening. Traditional cooking utensils, which took time to make and were easily broken, have been replaced by metal pots and dishes. Guns (and torches) have brought more reward for less effort in hunting, and fishing has become easier with goggles and elastic-propelled spears. Mosquito nets and bedding have made sleep more comfortable. Storebought goods and introduced plants have made possible a more varied diet, particularly during the dry season. The improvements have been on a small scale and have required the diversion of effort into non-traditional channels to obtain the necessary cash. With the exception of the trade store owner in Inonda, few people use cash to make large productive investments (discounting the substitution of steel for stone tools) in village-based activities.

432 derived from the data is in part misleading since sales of coffee were made periodically from June through to September while rubber can be, and is, sold at any time of the year. A feature of both crops is, however, that substantial quantities are harvested, processed and stored prior to entry into the exchange system. Unlike most subsistence crops both are capable of storage while, in the case of coffee, the infrequent opportunities for sale make this a necessity. Over the survey three sales of rubber and five of coffee were recorded.

511 (iv) Storebought goods (Table 10:7 and Fig.10:3). The distinct periodicity apparent in the movement of the major storebought goods is connected with both seasonal factors and the receipt of parcels from kinsmen in wage employment. The consumption of these goods can be variously judged, according to the time of year, as supplementing the subsistence diet or as being surplus to requirements. During period I, with little feasting and an abundance of garden produce (plus a shortage of available cash), only a small quantity of food is purchased and none circulated. The acquisition of rice is at a peak during period II to compensate for the shortage of starches in the subsistence sector; yet even at this time consumption amounts to only about 1 lb of white rice per adult per week. Most is purchased in 1 lb or 2 lb lots from local trade stores, although on one occasion (in week 16) a 56 lb bag was purchased. [262] Most conspicuous consumption and exchange takes place during [439] period III: tinned meat and fish which are frequently consumed with the staple foods exceed rice in the value of exchanges, but acquisitions of them only amount to about 0.5 lb per adult per week.

The climax is the circulation of tobacco and clothing during period II reflects the receipt of two gift parcels by sample members, with goods to an estimated value of $65. In the case of cartridges the increased circulation during the dry season was associated with improved hunting opportunities and, in connection with them, the quasi-entrepreneurial activities of one sample member.[1]

The manner in which storebought goods are circulated is similar to that of subsistence produce in that there is little storage or stock held. Because the utilisation of these goods is related primarily to specific circumstances, such as the availability of cash, receipt of gift parcels and feast requirements, the pattern of exchange over time assumes a highly irregular form which, to a considerable extent, obscures seasonal variations. It should be noted, however, that this form closely parallels that of the circulation of subsistence produce (see Fig.10:2). A

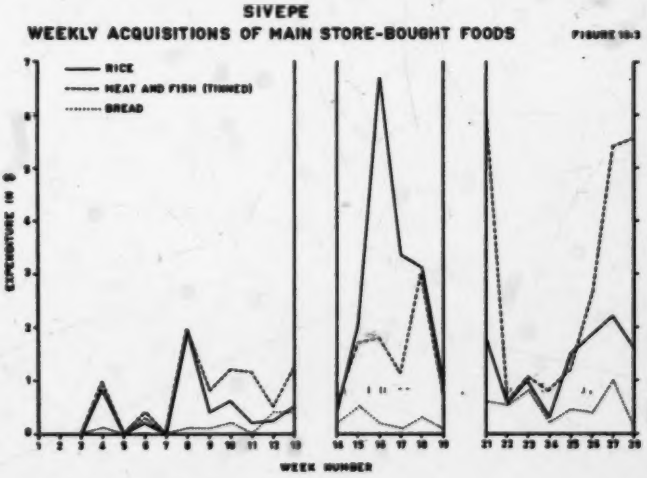
A [See Category 438, p. 193--Analysis]

[1] See p.119.

Table 10:7

Sivepe: mean weekly transactions of storebought goods during each recording period
($)

		Period		
		I	II	III
Rice	Acquisition	0.42	2.75	1.35
	Disposal	-	0.59	0.21
Tinned fish/meat	A	0.71	1.49	2.89
	D	-	0.15	0.53
Tobacco	A	0.73	3.31	0.97
	D	-	0.75	0.04
Clothing	A	2.36	4.12	0.56
	D	0.03	0.46	-
Cartridges	A	0.38	1.82	0.56
	D	-	0.32	0.01
Total: storebought goods (incl. those not shown)	A	7.49	22.32	12.40
	D	0.22	2.78	0.82



B. Store-bought goods and cash

Household	No. of adults	No. of man-weeks recorded	Store-bought goods ($)								Cash ($)	
			Foodstuffs and stimulants		Personal		Household		Tools and equipment		Cash	
			A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
1*	4	86.3	0.34	0.04	0.53	0.03	0.04	-	0.06	-	0.41	0.46
2*	4	76.4	0.32	0.04	0.42	0.01	0.03	-	0.03	0.01	0.77	0.49
3*	2	51.1	0.28	-	0.05	-	0.03	0.01	0.10	-	1.04	0.89
4	2	9.6	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.05	-
5*	3	58.9	0.26	0.01	0.18	-	0.03	-	0.13	0.01	0.38	0.50
6	1	25.6	0.08	-	0.06	-	-	-	0.12	-	0.08	0.02
7	1	16.4	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.02
8	1	25.3	0.20	0.02	0.02	-	0.01	-	-	-	0.21	0.16
9*	2	47.3	0.35	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.07	-	0.02	0.01	0.46	0.45
10	2	39.1	0.04	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.02
11	4	68.1	0.08	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	0.07	0.07
12	2	16.4	0.08	-	0.07	-	-	-	-	-	0.13	0.20
13*	2	46.3	0.17	0.02	0.01	-	0.01	0.01	0.05	-	0.22	0.21
14	3	60.1	0.11	0.02	-	-	0.08	-	-	-	0.19	0.11
15*	2	50.3	0.23	0.06	0.08	-	0.03	-	0.33	0.33	0.90	0.72
Total	35	677.2										
Mean			0.21	0.02	0.15	0.01	0.03	-	0.06	-	0.40	0.35
Cash cropping households	T 19	416.6										
	M		0.29	0.03	0.24	0.01	0.03	-	0.10	0.01	0.59	0.53
Non-cash cropping households	T 16	260.6										
	M		0.21	0.01	0.02	-	0.02	-	0.01	-	0.10	0.08

* Cash cropping households. T = total. M = mean.

434 money received from them. As demonstrated in Table 10:15, such
431 people serve as a major source of storebought goods, other than foodstuffs. The size of such gifts is demonstrated by the following two cases.

One: a householder visited his sister and sister's husband (also his wife's brother) working in Port Moresby. At the end of his visit he received $20 in cash, a dog and a suitcase containing the following items - 4 dresses, 2 pairs of underpants, 4 pairs of shorts, 5 shirts, 10 lengths of calico, 1 skirt, 2 pairs of child's shorts, 1 child's dress, 11 plates, 1 cauldron, 7 spoons, 1 blanket, 1 sleeping mat, 2 handkerchiefs and a child's shirt. From another of his wife's brother he received a wrist watch, while a third m[illegible] paid his air fare back to Popondetta.

Two: a teenage girl spent about two months visiting and assisting her father's mother's brother's daughter and her husband on their holding at Sangara. During the course of her stay she received $1 in cash and at the end a further $2 together with the following items - flour (50c), margarine (30c), fish (20c), meat (80c), sugar (20c), rice (50c), tobacco (10c), matches (0[illegible]c), and chewing gum (10c).

● 511 The expenditure patterns of cash are much the same for both cash and non-cash croppers; in both cases trade store purchases account for about half and payments to external agencies (licences, tax and mission offerings) account for a further one-fifth of the total. Non-cash croppers have less money available but utilise it in much
[436] the same manner - in effecting what are largely necessary exchanges with the external sector. The small amount of money circulating as exchanges between villagers (12 per cent of income and 15 per cent of expenditure) reveals the non-cash croppers as realising a net credit of about $10, the cash croppers a debit of about $15. While little reliance can be placed on these figures they do seem to confirm the villagers' recognition of a distinct though restricted movement of money towards the former to supplement their limited cash resources and fulfil their requirements for it. In fact, the incomes of cash cropping households exceed those of all others, while, of the five households with the highest incomes, the heads
[556] of four are the most respected within the sample. Thus, as with work, the intensity of exchange or activity in the monetary sector is apparently recognised as one criterion engendering respect among villagers. Alternatively, at the present level of commercialisation, it does not appear to conflict with customary considerations in the evaluation of status.

454 Even in the case of households with incomes of $2 per week there is little evidence of serious attempts at capital formation or investment. Any periodic excess of income over expenditure is normally kept as cash on hand in the house to be drawn on as required. Only four instances of monetary investments, involving two

A. [See Category 437, p. 214--Analyst]

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Table 10:10

Sivepe: cash income and expenditure over 46.5 weeks, by household
($)

Household	Income	Expenditure	Net change to cash balances
1	95.99	63.80	32.19
2	78.57	61.00	17.57
3	79.92	60.49	19.43
4*	0.50	-	0.50
5	42.87	36.44	6.43
6	3.50	2.10	1.40
7**	12.50	12.30	0.20
8	11.75	10.62	1.13
9	62.35	60.29	2.06
10	17.50	5.80	11.70
11	30.90	21.83	9.07
12***	2.15	3.68	-1.53
13	58.75	45.49	13.26
14	21.98	16.63	5.35
15	77.08	67.82	9.26
Total	596.31	468.29	128.02
Mean per week:			
All households	0.99	0.78	0.21
Cash croppers	1.52	1.21	0.31
Non-cash croppers	0.36	0.26	0.10

* Surveyed for 6.5 weeks only. ** Surveyed for 27.5 weeks only.
*** Surveyed for 11.5 weeks only.

454 households, were recorded and each followed the receipt of a substantial gift or payment of cash. In the case of the first household, the head received a remittance of $12 in March from a brother and he immediately purchased shares to the value of $10 in Oro Ltd; in December he received another remittance of $10 from his sister's husband and immediately deposited $6 in his savings account, while a week later he received $10 from the husband of another sister and his wife deposited an additional $6 in the savings account. The head of the second household sold coffee to the value of $25.75 in July, depositing $10 of it in a clan savings account. The two households registered the second and fourth highest incomes respectively.

The irregularity of cash income, and therefore the need to hold cash against expected requirements, is undoubtedly an important factor in this apparent failure to accumulate capital. However, this consideration apart, it can be variously interpreted as, one, the inadequacy of income in relation to immediate requirements and demands from the monetary sector, two, a belief that there is no

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 207]

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Table 10:11

Sivepe: patterns of income and expenditure over 46.5 weeks, by cash cropping status

	Cash croppers		Non-cash croppers		Total	
Number of adults	19		16		35	
Man-weeks surveyed	751.5		509.5		1,261.0	
	$	%	$	%	$	%
Sources of income						
Cash crops	174.95	35	15.00	15	189.95	32
OCCS dividend	5.40	1	-	-	5.40	1
Paid employment*	18.90	4	2.25	2	21.15	4
Remittances**	162.50	33	3.80	4	166.30	28
Gifts and payments from Sangata settlers	0.40	-	33.60	33	34.00	6
Subsistence produce: marketing, hawking and casual sales	16.50	3	10.75	11	27.25	5
Sales to Administration	7.80	2	3.45	3	11.25	2
Gifts, loans and payments from villagers	47.05	9	25.40	25	72.45	12
Researchers	62.03	13	6.53	6	68.56	11
Total	495.53	100	100.78	99	596.31	100
Mean per man-week	0.66		0.20		0.47	
Directions of expenditure						
Trade store purchases	189.91	48	38.82	53	228.73	49
Mission (Mothers' Union) purchases	4.35	1	4.10	6	8.45	2
Marketing, hawking and casual sales	18.08	5	2.60	4	20.68	4
Fares, travel	12.00	3	0.50	1	12.50	3
Bank deposits/shares	32.00	8	-	-	32.00	7
Administrative agencies	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Mission offerings	45.09	11	2.60	4	47.69	10
Local Government Council tax	28.00	7	14.00	19	42.00	9
Gifts, loans and payments to villagers	57.90	15	10.34	14	68.24	15
Gambling losses	4.00	1	-	-	4.00	1
Total	395.33	100	72.96	101	468.29	101
Mean per man-week	0.53		0.14		0.37	

* Including local government Councillor's salary.
** Including gifts from wage earners in District.

454 worthwhile way in which they can invest their money or, three, a general inability of the people to handle their money effectively. An analysis of the pattern of expenditure on commodities (which account for 55 per cent of total expenditure) throws some light on the problem since, in this area, the people themselves initiate the act rather than any other institution.

● 511 Food and stimulants account for 62 per cent of the expenditure on commodities (see Table 10:12). In a predominately subsistence economy such purchases are generally considered to be of a luxury nature and superfluous to basic requirements. This view cannot be substantiated on the basis of the Sivepe evidence. Sixty-three per cent of rice purchases, the single most important item, are made during July, August and September - the latter part of the dry 046 season - when there is a serious shortage of cultivated foods. The 439 consumption of tinned meat and fish compensate, to some extent, for the inadequate protein content in the subsistence diet. Similarly, purchases of subsistence produce are restricted to the locally scarce resources of fish and meat, together with lime which is eaten with areca. Other foodstuffs include biscuits, bread, sugar and salt and only certain of these can be treated as purely luxury purchases. The other important commodities purchased are clothing and household goods (principally cooking utensils). Both are now essential elements in the material culture, having displaced their traditional counterparts.

438 In comparing the purchasing patterns of cash and non-cash croppers 439 (and therefore of high and low income households) a clearer pattern 511 of priorities emerges. Among the latter clothing is the most important commodity purchased, followed by rice, meat and fish, and household goods. Together these account for 72 per cent of all purchases. The range of purchases of cash croppers is more widely distributed, the above commodities accounting for only 50 per cent of the total. Thirteen per cent of their expenditure is on goods used in hunting - cartridges, torches, batteries and bulbs - and it is in this activity particularly that their larger incomes are of direct significance in effecting a technological advance and increasing productivity. Their more substantial purchases of rice can be viewed in a similar light - reducing their need to make sago, so enabling them to continue their cash cropping activities through the dry season.

In general purchasing patterns can be readily understood in terms of the requirements of the village economy. Expenditure is largely restricted to goods which have displaced their traditional counterparts or which compensate for seasonal food shortages and there is little evidence of extravagance.

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Table 10:12

Sivupi household expenditure on commodities over 46.5 weeks

Household		Subsist-ence produce	Rice	Meat/fish (tinned)	Other food-stuffs	Stimulants	Clothing	Other personal goods	House-hold goods	Torches batteries, bulbs	Cartridges	Other tools and equipment	Total
1*	$	2.34	3.80	6.73	8.87	4.36	4.44	4.16	4.72	3.20	0.80	1.44	44.96
	%	5	8	15	20	9	10	9	10	7	2	4	99
2*	$	6.60	14.40	5.17	5.40	0.10	3.00	1.40	0.20	0.20	2.10	0.70	39.35
	%	17	37	13	14	-	8	4	1	1	5	2	102
3*	$	1.00	4.00	3.40	1.76	0.84	3.85	0.44	1.64	1.70	0.40	0.50	19.33
	%	5	21	18	9	3	20	2	8	9	2	3	100
4**	$	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5*	$	2.20	3.80	4.34	5.03	0.70	1.34	0.20	1.58	4.46	2.05	1.44	27.34
	%	8	14	17	18	3	5	1	6	16	7	5	100
6	$	0.20	0.40	0.20	-	-	-	0.20	-	-	0.10	1.00	2.10
	%	10	19	10	-	-	-	10	-	-	5	48	102
7***	$	0.20	-	0.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.40
	%	50	-	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
8	$	1.40	0.20	0.60	-	0.84	3.60	-	0.14	0.10	-	-	6.88
	%	20	3	9	-	12	52	-	2	1	-	-	99
9*	$	0.70	6.46	7.18	5.99	6.85	3.25	1.15	5.26	0.50	0.50	0.25	38.09
	%	2	17	19	16	18	9	3	14	1	1	1	101
10	$	-	1.00	1.40	0.20	-	-	-	3.20	-	-	-	5.80
	%	-	17	24	3	-	-	-	55	-	-	-	99
11	$	-	2.14	1.94	2.03	0.78	3.70	0.30	0.24	-	0.90	-	12.23
	%	-	17	16	17	6	30	4	2	-	7	-	99
12#	$	0.40	0.40	0.48	0.40	-	0.70	0.40	-	-	-	-	2.78
	%	14	14	17	14	-	25	14	-	-	-	-	98
13*	$	1.00	6.50	2.94	2.80	0.40	2.40	0.30	-	1.80	1.30	-	18.64
	%	5	35	16	15	2	13	2	-	5	7	-	100
14	$	0.40	1.50	4.28	2.30	0.40	1.70	0.30	4.05	0.40	-	-	15.53
	%	3	10	28	15	3	11	3	26	3	-	-	102
15*	$	1.10	1.90	2.10	2.14	1.54	1.30	3.10	1.24	2.50	7.10	-	24.22
	%	5	8	9	9	6	6	13	5	10	29	-	100
Total	$	17.34	46.50	41.16	36.92	16.51	29.48	12.35	22.35	14.04	13.25	5.33	257.65
	%	7	18	16	15	6	11	5	9	5	6	2	100
Percentage: Cash croppers		7	19	13	15	7	9	5	7	6	7	2	(212.93) 99
Non-cash croppers		6	13	20	11	4	22	4	17	1	2	2	102 (144.72)

* Cash cropping households. ** Surveyed for 6.5 weeks only. *** Surveyed for 27.5 weeks only. # Surveyed for 11.9 weeks only.

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In the same way, there appears to be little relationship between the levels of transactions in most categories and either the rank of household heads or the total area cultivated by households. Where possibly significant differences in the rates of acquisitions and disposals appear, they are mostly explainable in terms of the various factors mentioned above. However, as regards rank, it is striking that the leading man's household is first in its rate of acquisition of most items, though only second for taro and pigmeat. It leads in acquisitions of both cash and subsistence sector services and is second in its rate of disposals of taro, bananas, pigmeat and subsistence services.

It appears, then, that high status confers both material responsibilities and benefits. The main advantage accruing to the entrepreneur seems to be that he needs to spend less time than others in gardening and the time thus saved is directed into cash-producing activities.[1] This consideration applies only to the leading man and transactions according to the other rankings do not fall into a noticeable order.

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(b) The expenditure of cash

Table 11:10 shows the pattern of purchases by each household during each recording period and over the whole survey. While there are considerable differences between households in the total value of purchases and a wide range in the proportion of cash income devoted to commodity purchases, there is less difference in the actual composition of the expenditure patterns (see Table 11:11).

For all but one household (which has a total expenditure below $3), food and stimulants account for over half of the purchases. Rice forms between 7 and 16 per cent of the total of all except the Jego'undi household, the proportion varying little over the survey. Flour on the other hand, was bought only during period II, when it formed almost one-quarter of all purchases and the proportions of tinned meat and fish in particular were reduced. The proportion formed by clothing and personal goods is also reduced at this time. All households, except the widow's, purchase flour, the amount bearing no relation to income.

None of the households containing the older people (18, 19 and 24) bought clothing, while only one (24) bought any other personal goods or tools and equipment. Apart from these, the other non-cash cropping households (20 and 22) also spend small proportions on these categories and on household goods compared with the proportions of expenditure allocated by the cash cropping households (16, 17, 21 and 23). Clothing accounts for one-quarter of the expenditure of three of the latter households.

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[1] See pp.161-2.

Table 11:10

Incomes: household expenditure patterns during each recording period
($)

Household	Subsistence	Rice	Tinned meat and fish	Bread	Flour	Other foods and stimulants	Clothing	Other personal	Household goods	Tools and equipment	Total
						Period I					
16	-	0.80	0.40	-	-	1.14	1.20	0.14	0.10	1.24	5.02
17	-	0.40	-	-	-	0.30	-	-	-	-	0.70
18	-	0.20	0.14	-	-	0.44	-	-	1.40	-	2.18
19	-	0.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.20
20	1.50	1.60	3.00	1.24	-	2.78	1.20	0.50	0.20	0.40	12.42
21	0.10	1.70	2.04	1.64	-	3.64	-	0.50	0.34	0.40	10.76
22	0.90	2.80	0.74	0.74	-	2.08	1.00	-	0.24	0.30	8.80
23	1.20	2.20	3.32	1.82	-	5.88	18.18	4.96	1.06	1.14	39.76
24	2.20	0.50	0.42	-	-	3.94	-	-	0.14	0.50	7.70
Sub-total	5.90	10.40	10.06	5.44	-	20.20	21.58	6.10	3.68	4.18	87.54
Per cent	7	12	11	6	-	23	25	7	4	5	100
						Period II					
16	-	0.80	0.30	0.20	1.40	1.24	-	1.60	0.12	0.50	6.16
17	-	0.60	-	0.20	2.00	0.50	-	-	0.20	0.20	3.70
18	-	0.20	-	-	-	0.10	-	-	-	-	0.30
19	-	-	0.40	-	0.70	-	-	-	-	-	1.10
20	-	0.70	0.64	0.60	4.60	2.54	-	0.20	0.04	0.30	9.62
21	-	0.80	0.60	0.40	1.40	1.30	-	-	0.10	0.20	5.00
23	0.90	1.80	1.74	1.40	1.80	5.32	1.50	0.40	5.60	4.66	25.12
24	0.10	0.60	0.14	-	0.70	1.14	-	-	-	-	2.68
Sub-total	1.00	5.50	3.82	2.80	12.60	12.34	1.50	2.20	6.06	5.86	53.68
Per cent	2	10	7	5	23	23	3	4	11	11	100
						Period III					
16	0.10	2.40	3.24	0.60	-	5.16	7.34	0.90	1.54	-	21.28
17	-	0.40	0.30	0.70	-	0.40	2.10	0.20	0.10	-	4.20
18	-	-	-	-	-	0.20	-	-	-	-	0.20
19	-	-	-	0.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.20
20	0.46	0.60	0.70	1.40	-	2.30	1.20	0.10	0.26	1.24	8.26
21	-	-	1.20	0.20	-	0.96	2.04	-	1.74	0.30	6.44
23	0.10	2.10	3.52	1.70	-	6.56	1.68	1.66	0.02	5.12	22.46
24	0.20	-	-	-	-	1.08	-	-	1.00	-	2.28
Sub-total	0.86	5.50	8.96	4.80	-	16.66	14.36	2.86	4.66	6.66	65.32
Per cent	1	8	14	7	-	26	22	4	7	10	100

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Table 11:11

Incnds: household expenditure on commodities over the whole survey period

Household		Subsist-ence produce	Rice	Tinned meat and fish	Bread	Flour	Other food-stuffs and stimulants	Clothing	Other personal goods	Household goods	Tools and equipment	Total
16	$	0.10	4.00	3.94	0.80	1.40	7.54	8.54	2.64	1.76	1.74	32.46
	%	0.3	12.3	12.1	2.5	4.3	23.2	26.3	8.1	5.4	5.4	99.9
17	$	-	1.40	0.30	0.90	2.00	1.20	2.10	0.20	0.30	0.20	8.60
	%	-	16.3	3.5	10.4	23.3	14.0	24.4	2.3	3.5	2.3	100.0
18	$	-	0.40	0.14	-	-	0.74	-	-	1.40	-	2.68
	%	-	14.9	5.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	$	-	0.20	0.40	0.20	0.70	-	-	-	-	-	1.50
	%	-	13.3	26.7	13.3	46.7	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
20	$	1.96	2.90	4.34	3.24	4.60	7.62	2.40	0.80	0.50	1.94	30.30
	%	6.5	9.6	14.3	10.7	15.2	25.1	7.9	2.6	1.7	6.4	100.0
21	$	0.10	2.50	3.84	2.24	1.40	6.10	2.04	0.50	2.38	1.10	22.20
	%	-	12.7	17.3	10.1	6.3	27.5	9.2	2.3	10.7	4.9	100.0
22	$	0.90	2.80	0.74	0.74	-	2.08	1.00	-	0.24	0.30	8.80
	%	10.2	31.8	8.4	8.4	-	23.6	11.4	-	2.7	3.4	99.9
23	$	2.20	6.10	8.58	4.92	1.80	17.76	21.36	7.02	6.68	10.92	87.34
	%	2.5	7.0	9.8	5.6	2.1	20.3	24.5	8.0	7.6	12.5	99.9
24	$	2.30	1.10	0.56	-	0.70	6.16	-	1.00	0.14	0.50	12.66
	%	19.7	8.7	4.4	-	5.5	48.7	-	7.9	1.1	3.9	99.9
Total	$	7.76	21.40	22.84	13.04	12.60	49.20	37.44	11.16	14.40	16.70	206.54
	%	4	10	11	6	6	24	18	5	7	8	100

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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Only three households bought subsistence produce in more than one recording period. The entrepreneur's purchase of Xanthosoma has been mentioned above. Areca is bought at any time of the year. Other subsistence purchases consist of smoked meat and fish from hawkers and almost always take place immediately prior to feasts if hunting has not yielded enough meat. Purchases of the major storebought foods similarly reach peaks when feasts or parties occur. Also, some purchases of items such as rice, tinned fish, bread, sugar and sweet biscuits are made every week by one or another household. Households 20, 21 and 23 are the most regular purchasers.

Household 23 accounts for 42 per cent of all purchases and therefore strongly influences the average figures for the village as a whole. Rice in particular and storebought foodstuffs in general form a lower proportion of its expenditure than of any other household, although the actual amount spent on these items is much greater. This household also disposes of storebought foods at a higher rate than any other. Household 22 disposes of storebought foods to others at a rate little below household 23 and 72 per cent of its expenditure on commodities is on storebought foods, with a further 10 per cent on subsistence foods and areca.

Figures 11:3 and 11:4 illustrate some relationships between total cash income and expenditure over the eleven months from February 1964 to January 1965. Although the sample is small and the relationships are not straightforward, it is clear that there is a tendency for expenditure on food and clothing to form a declining proportion as expenditure on all commodities rises. Items which increase in significance are household and personal goods and working equipment. As total expenditure increases, the proportion spent on goods and services declines. However, there is no apparent tendency for total expenditure (including that on services, gifts, loans, gambling, tax payments as well as purchases) to decline in proportion as income rises. As Table 11:13 shows, only one household has a cash balance over an eleven months' period of more than a few dollars. The directions of outlays over and above expenditure on commodities are shown in Table 11:14. Some of these avenues (such as payments for labour and gun and trading licences) are followed only by the entrepreneur. Tax payments are made only by the younger people, as the old and infirm are exempt, and tax payment consumed more of the income of the three households that paid it than any other item except purchasing. The head of household 22 did not pay tax and was later jailed. The other main expenditures include gambling, deposits in savings accounts and gifts and loans. Of these, gifts account for the greater proportion of expenditure.

It appears, then, that of the calls on income, tax payment has first priority for most people, although food purchases come first for household 22. Food and then clothing purchases are next in

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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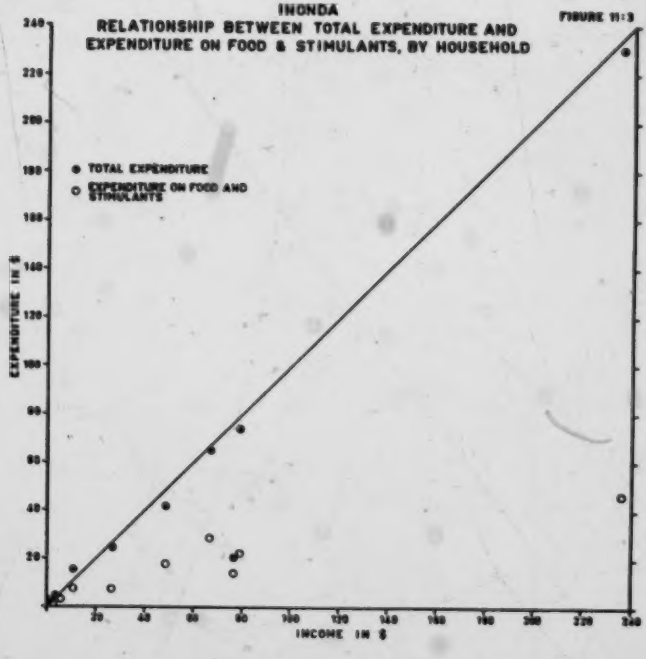
INONDA
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL EXPENDITURE AND EXPENDITURE ON FOOD & STIMULANTS, BY HOUSEHOLD

FIGURE 11:3



priority. Inonda people with incomes below $20 over the 26-week survey spent virtually all their income in purchasing (apart from tax payment). As income rises above this level, expenditure on commodities increases but people also are able to invest their money or to circulate it in the form of gifts, with the latter having greater priority. Monetary investment (whether in purchases of shares or deposits in savings accounts) usually involves larger sums than gifts which may be as small as 10c, but gifts are much more frequent and are a more characteristic element in the exchange patterns. Naturally, the higher cash income a household receives, the more it is able to dispose of in gifts as well as meeting its own material needs. As generosity in distribution is a major source

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8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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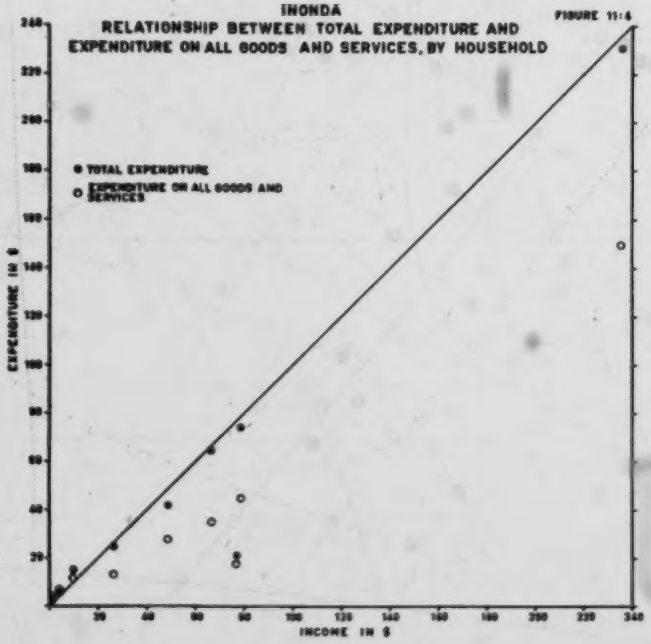
INONDA
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL EXPENDITURE AND EXPENDITURE ON ALL GOODS AND SERVICES, BY HOUSEHOLD
FIGURE 11:4
TOTAL EXPENDITURE
EXPENDITURE ON ALL GOODS AND SERVICES
EXPENDITURE IN $
INCOME IN $

of prestige, income should show a positive correlation with rankings and Table 11:12 illustrates this.[1]

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Again, the relationship is not clear-cut - household 19, the widower, has a very low income but high status in certain respects, reflecting his age, his knowledge of land and personal relationships

[1] All the household heads were ranked in terms of both the people's own evaluation of their status relative to each other, and the researchers' observations on individual wealth, participation in village affairs, influence in decision-making, etc.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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Table 11:12

Inonde: cash income during the whole survey period and rank of households

Household	Rank	Income in $
23	1	147.72
20	2	41.44
24	3	41.30
21	3	39.40
16	4	38.50
17	4	16.40
22	4	10.60
19	2	1.50
18	4	0.50

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and his generosity with his main resource, labour. Household 16 is grouped in the lowest rank although its income level is in the same order as people in the second and third ranks. A further complication is that household 24, though accorded a relatively high rank, has a comparatively low rate of expenditure, particularly in the form of gifts of either cash or storebought foods. Allowing for these factors, however, it seems that the qualities that gain respect for an individual within the traditional village sphere of operation also tend to be those that encourage the acquisition of cash.

Income and expenditure of cash over 47 weeks

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The figures in Table 11:13 represent current income from all sources, including withdrawals from savings accounts and all expenditure, including deposits in savings accounts. Unlike the data for other items of exchange, details of income and expenditure of cash were collected not only for the three recording periods but also for the intervening weeks. Although this subsidiary data may be rather less accurate than the rest, it has been taken into consideration in some of the tables below and thus provides a record of cash transactions over 11 months, from February 1964 to January 1965.

Table 11:13 shows the total income and expenditure of cash per household over 11 months, including the coffee season, and reveals that there is a net inflow of cash amounting to $72.96 for the village as a whole or $8.12 per household. In fact, however, both income and expenditure vary widely between households. Also, the income of households 16, 21 and 23 includes withdrawals from savings accounts and the expenditure of household 23 includes a deposit in his account. Household 23 has the highest income with $235.42, which is 43 per cent of the total for all 9 households, but its expenditure

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Table 11:13

Inonda: cash income and expenditure over 47 weeks, by household ($)

Household	Income	Expenditure	Net change to cash balances
16	78.62	73.84	4.78
17	26.38	24.20	2.18
18	4.30	4.90	-0.60
19	1.70	2.50	-0.80
20	66.94	64.12	2.82
21	48.60	41.56	7.04
22*	10.60	14.64	-4.04
23	235.42	230.38	5.04
24	76.90	20.36	56.54
Total	549.46	476.50	72.96
Mean per household	61.06	52.94	8.12

* Figures for February 1964 to May 1964 only.

is also highest. Income and expenditure by household 23 related to the trade store are not included in these figures. During the period, income from the store amounted to $185.20 and expenditure on supplies, at wholesale prices, to $177.58; most of this expenditure was for goods purchased on credit in the first few months of operation.

The trade store began operating on 25 October 1963. Up to 3 January 1965, total payments for supplies were $264.50 and total income from sales was $368.78, giving a gross profit of $104.28.[1] Deduction of $6 for a trading licence yields a profit of $98.28, at a rate of $7.02 per month. This rate is little more than half that earned through casual labour, but the returns per hour are very much higher (see Table 13.2), since operation of the store did not consume a very large proportion of the working day (except for journeys to Popondetta to collect supplies). Over the survey period, the average time spent daily on the store was little over one hour. The owner thus had considerable time available for other tasks, which is not true of those engaged in wage labour. Judging by the comments of the managing director of Oro Limited,[2] he is quite successful by the standards of Orokaiva-owned stores. For a period, early in 1964,

[1] Stocks remaining at 3 January 1965 were small and, in the researcher's opinion, almost worthless. They have, therefore, been written off for the purposes of this account.

[2] Personal communication.

444 it was not only the closest store for some 100 people, but it was also regularly patronised by passers-by and labourers on the main road.[1] For this reason, during the first 13 weeks of the survey sales averaged $10.70 a week, but over the whole period, from February 1964 to January 1965, the average was only $4.20.

472 434 The head of household 23 engaged in a number of other profitable entrepreneurial activities during the survey and the income from these is included in Table 11:13. He received $42 for organising the construction of the researchers' house; this sum was immediately used in the purchase of a shotgun. During period III, the same man organised a labour gang of fellow villagers to construct a shelter at the airstrip on contract from the Administration. For this, he received $72, of which he paid $36 to the other six men. At other times during the year, he received $20 for hardwood trees sold to the Administration, $4 for interpreting at polling booths during the House of Assembly elections and $10 from the Electricity Commission for locating steel pipes and oxy-acetylene cylinders abandoned in the grasslands after the war. (Two other men found and carried the pipes to the road at the entrepreneur's suggestion. They received $3 each and he received $8!) In addition to these sources not open to people with less experience and self-confidence, the same man acquired significant sums from sales of meat, coffee and copra and from gambling. Two fellow villagers gave $2 each and another gave coffee worth $3.32 as contributions towards the purchase of his shotgun. The wife's contribution to the household income was comparatively small at $6.90, of which $4 comprised remittances from kinsmen in Port Moresby.

511 About 62 per cent of this household's expenditure was in retail purchases from trade stores - one-third of this figure being represented by the shotgun and the rest mostly by food and clothing. The bulk of the other expenditure was in payments to the villagers who formed the labour gang. Eight dollars was spent on gun and trading licences and $2 on a fine for taking sago leaves without the owner's permission. Only about $12 (5 per cent) was disposed of in gifts to relatives. Overall, income exceeded expenditure by only $5.04, more than $3 below the village mean.

434 Household 24 has the greatest excess of income over expenditure with $56.54. Its gross income was $76.90, of which $32 were remittances from kin working outside the district, $10 was a teacher's pension from the Anglican mission and $10 was a belated payment from the Administration as a share of rice sales by Hohorita village co-operative society in 1949 and 1950. Seventy per cent of the household's expenditure was in trade stores and almost 10 per cent was in casual purchases from hawkers. The surplus cash was not

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[1] See p.61.

deposited in the savings account but was kept as cash-in-hand. None of the household's expenditure was in the form of gifts; most was in impersonal transactions and the rest in commercial exchanges with village people.

Household 16 has a slightly higher income than household 24, but three times the expenditure, so that its excess of income over expenditure at January 1965 was only $4.78. The main sources of income were sales of coffee, marketing and labouring. The wife's mother received 10 per cent of the household income in the form of gifts from close kin.

Household 20 also has a comparatively high level of income and expenditure and an excess of income of only $2.82. Just over one-half was from gambling and a further one-sixth from marketing; this household has no cash crops.

Household 21, which is establishing coffee but derived no income from cash crops, has a gross income of $48.60 and an excess over expenditure of $7.04, which was the second highest in the village. This was derived from a wider range of sources and was more evenly distributed among them than the income of most other households. Over one-fifth was received in gifts, mostly from the wife's relatives, many of whom are wage earners.

Household 17 owns 107 coffee trees but sales of coffee were less important as a source of its income than labouring, even though labouring on the main road occupied only one week early in the survey and labouring on the contract gang ten days during December. Expenditure by households 16, 17, 20 and 21 was mostly on tax payment and store purchases, but 17 per cent of the expenditure of household 20 and 5 per cent of household 21 comprised gambling losses.

The remaining three households had a low level of income and an excess of expenditure for the eleven months. Household 18 received its entire income as gifts from wage earners and fellow villagers, as did household 19, apart from a small sum from the researchers. Expenditure was exclusively in purchasing, but the widower (household 19) lost $1 while washing his clothes in a stream. Household 21 was present for only the first 13 weeks of the survey. Its income was derived from labouring for a settler on the Girua block and from sales of subsistence produce to villagers. Expenditure, which exceeded income by $4.04, was mostly in trade store purchases. The household head did not pay the council tax and was later jailed for three months. After leaving Inonda, he continued to work occasionally for settlers but no details of his income were collected.

The majority of cash transactions are with organisations: this applies to expenditure even more than to income. Many of the transactions with villagers represent payments for specific goods and services that are usually related to the cash sector, such as

assistance in picking coffee, rather than to the traditional network of exchange. The relative significance of the different sources of income and directions of expenditure varies considerably between cash croppers as a group and non-cash croppers. The sources of income and directions of expenditure for the 11 months period are shown for these two groups in Table 11:14.

It is important to bear in mind in interpreting Table 11:14 that it represents a very small population and particular individuals have a great influence on the figures. In addition, whereas 10 of the people in cash cropping households were resident for at least half of the survey period, only 8 of the people in non-cash cropping households were and only 3 of these latter were under 40 years of age. Thus, opportunities for acquiring cash income were quantitatively less for the non-cash cropping group. A further distorting factor is the role of the researchers in causing increases in income and, perhaps, in substituting for expenditure in the cases of tobacco and clothing for instance. However, any attempt to exclude extraordinary sources of income would make the levels of expenditure difficult to explain, and the data for income from all sources are given.

Cash croppers receive 71 per cent of the total income of the village and account for 78 per cent of the cash disposals. However, sales of cash crops account for only 8 per cent of total income and, with the OCCS dividend, for only 13 per cent of cash croppers' income. By contrast, contracts between the Administration and the entrepreneur account for 19 per cent of total village income. Some $43, or 6 per cent of total village income, is received from the entrepreneur by other villagers in the form of payments and gifts.

Small gifts and loans are next in importance to the entrepreneur's activities as a source of income for the village as a whole. The cash croppers acquired most of this money, but it is relatively more significant for non-cash croppers, owing to their lower level of income. The same is true of marketing, which yields 11 per cent of total income, and, to a lesser extent, of paid employment, which is more evenly divided between the two groups. Gambling winnings came to the same amount as income from cash crops but, when losses are taken into account, gambling is rather less rewarding although it still accounts for 6 per cent of village income. Gifts from wage earners comprise 13 per cent of the village income; such gifts formed over one-third of the income of non-cash croppers, but only 5 per cent of cash croppers' income. The figures suggest these gifts are made particularly to help relatives who have no income from cash crops. It is noteworthy in this context that, of the $16.50 received by cash croppers from wage earners within the District, $14.60 was received by the household that is only now establishing a coffee garden and as yet, derives no income from it.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Table 11:14

Inonda: patterns of income and expenditure over 47 weeks, by cash cropping status

	Cash croppers		Non-cash croppers		Total	
No. of adults	11		10		21	
	$	%	$	%	$	%
Sources of income						
Cash crops	46.60	12	-	-	46.60	9
OCGS dividend	5.60	1	-	-	5.60	1
Subsistence produce: marketing, hawking and casual sales	45.64	12	16.30	10	61.94	11
Withdrawals from savings	26.00	7	-	-	26.00	5
Paid employment	29.40	8	26.40	17	55.80	10
Contracting and sales to Administration	106.00	27	-	-	106.00	19
Mission pension	-	-	10.00	6	10.00	2
Remittances	4.00	1	36.00	22	40.00	7
Gifts from wage earners in District	16.50	4	18.80	12	35.30	6
Other gifts, loans, and payments	48.82	13	18.50	12	67.32	12
Gambling winnings	12.26	3	34.04	21	46.30	8
Researchers	48.20	12	0.40	-	48.60	9
Total	389.02	100	160.44	100	549.46	99
Mean	35.37		16.04		26.16	
Directions of expenditure						
Trade store purchases	223.52	60	62.08	58	285.60	60
Market and hawkers	2.80	1	7.14	7	9.94	2
Deposits in savings accounts	16.00	4	-	-	16.00	3
Payment of labour	36.00	10	-	-	36.00	8
Local government council tax	36.00	10	8.00	7	44.00	9
Gambling losses	3.50	1	13.50	13	17.00	4
Administrative agencies	11.20	3	-	-	11.20	2
Gifts, loans, repayments and loss	28.60	8	14.70	14	43.30	9
Other payments for services	1.42	-	0.10	-	1.52	-
Researchers	10.94	3	1.00	1	11.94	3
Total	369.98	100	106.52	100	476.50	100
Mean	33.63		10.65		22.69	

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purchases. In this way the shareholders obtained additional rebate benefits. In general, however, sales to non-shareholders correlated fairly closely with the presence or absence of small coastal trading vessels at the wharf.

Most of the buying at the store was done by men. There were no women shareholders, but wives and daughters used their husbands' and fathers' share numbers when purchasing goods.[1] The men were discriminating buyers and a man who had walked some miles to the store to buy a specific item would usually stand for a while surveying the goods displayed and asking a question or two about prices. After the purchase was made, usually of only one or two items, the buyer left the store, but usually stopped to chat at Surilai village on the northern side of the store before going home.

An analysis made of the spending patterns of a group of 27 Yega shareholders over a two-year period (January 1961-December 1962) showed that of a total expenditure of $1148, 49 per cent was spent on food (mainly tinned meat, tinned fish, rice and sugar), 11 per cent on tobacco, 11 per cent on clothing, 7 per cent on kitchen utensils, 3 per cent on garden tools and 17 per cent on miscellaneous items including torches, soft drinks, kerosene, matches, fishing gear, etc.

The most sought after foods were those with high protein content - tinned meats and fish. Only one bicycle (costing $52) was sold during the two years surveyed. The low rate of spending on garden tools is noteworthy, considering the importance of gardening in the Yega economy; but axes and bush knives were carefully guarded and, being very durable they needed only occasional replacement.

Almost every Yega child over six years of age and every adult of both sexes owned at least one item of European-type clothing. On working days, cotton skirts were worn by the girls and women, and shorts or cotton loin cloths by the men, but tapa (bark cloth) skirts were preferred by the adolescent girls and tapa boavo (bark loin cloth) by the older men for Sunday wear. Most people preferred to purchase their clothing requirements from the wider range available in the larger Popondetta stores rather than from the co-operative.

Retail trading showed a remarkable increase from 1961-2 to 1962-3. The turnover doubled during the financial year but a fall-off in trade of about 12½ per cent occurred in 1963-4. This situation probably resulted from lower spending by Yega shareholders,

[1] In the course of six or seven visits to the store I can recall only once having seen a woman at the counter.

preliminary planning. One may walk to the coast at any time and obtain sea-shells by purchase or barter. Moreover, many people now place a higher value on imported objects, both ornamental and utilitarian.

Nevertheless, hambo and di still have a value. A man derives prestige from being "rich in hambo", a wedding is not complete without the exchange of valuables, and a man is not properly dressed for important festivals unless he is adorned with hambo and di. Moreover, one is sometimes forced to acquire hambo, as in the case of a relatively wealthy man in a neighbouring village who cannot decline the requests of relatives (in Inonda and elsewhere) to give them cash for hambo to enable them to pay their tax.

In a bride-price exchange which we observed a total of £41.0.0 was given in cash, plus £13.19.0 worth of hambo and di. It is significant to note that it was the closest relatives who gave cash (or cash and valuables) and generally the more distant ones (or close ones who had no access to cash) who gave traditional valuables. Likewise the most important of the recipients kept the cash, and the traditional valuables were distributed to the more distant kin.(1) At a birthday feast which we observed only cash was contributed.(2) It is apparent that money is now of greater importance than hambo and di even in local ceremonial activity.

The total value of traditional valuables held in the village is less than that of cash savings (see p. 54). Savings in cash amount to 24% of annual cash income in the village and the remainder of the income is used for current expenses. Cash circulates much more rapidly than valuables and is used for a greater variety of transactions. It is likely that the relative importance of cash will continue to increase.

Income and expenditure

Details of cash income and expenditure were collected in respect of the first eight months of the year and are

(1) For a fuller report on this wedding see Hogbin, 1963.

(2) See Crocombe, 1963.

summarized in Tables 7 and 8. As most income came from paid labour, coffee sales (through the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society) and compensation payments (from the Administration) the amounts could be checked. The major items of expenditure, however, are more difficult to check and had to be compiled on the basis of detailed discussions of payments made on specific ceremonial occasions, taxation, and equipment, as well as current savings, church donations and so on. The item "food and household expenditure" is only an assessment based on people's estimates of their expenditure per pay period. A total income of £324 and expenditure of £276 during the eight-month period were accounted for as follows:

Table 7

Cash income

Income (to nearest £)

Source	£	Total	Household range	Household average
Paid work:				
Labouring	168			
Councillor	10			
Mission pension	4	182	0 - 41	23
Produce:				
Vegetables	5			
Pig meat	25			
Coffee	17	47	0 - 26	6
Traditional:				
Bride-price	15			
Gifts of money	8			
Feast donations	6	29	0 - 15	4
Miscellaneous:				
Gambling profits	2			
Compensation(1)	64	66	0 - 34	8
Total		324	3 - 72	41
Plus savings from previous year		83	0 - 29	10
		407	3 - 93	51

(1) This was compensation paid by the Administration for coffee trees removed to widen a road.

Table 8

Expenditure

Expenditure (to nearest £)

Item	£	Total	Household range	Household average
Domestic:				
Food and household	141			
Clothing	26			
Utensils	14	181	3 - 35	23
Capital:				
Equipment	2			
Housing	-	2	0 - 2	-
Traditional:				
Bride-price	57			
Other gifts	12	69	0 - 20	8
Miscellaneous:				
Church donations	2			
Tax (to council)	22	24	0 - 9	3
Total		276	3 - 65	34
Plus savings in hand now		97	0 - 30	12
		373	3 - 95	47

It will be noted that income per household averaged £41 for the eight months period and may be projected as £62 per household per annum or £11 per capita per annum. Only 14% (£47) of the total income was derived from primary production and less than half of this from cash crops. Very little of the income listed comes from within the village. All money derived from work and the sale of produce comes from elsewhere, and from persons or institutions with whom the Inonda people have no relationship other than the contractual one through which they derive income. All the income listed as "traditional" came from persons with whom the Inonda people had kinship or other social relations. Of the £15 in bride-price £8 came from resi-

dents of the village and £7 from non-resident kin. Of the gifts of money £3 came from resident kin and the balance from kin living elsewhere. The feast donations (with the exception of a few shillings) were given by non-residents, some of whom were kin, but most of whom were acquaintances living within a radius of several miles.

Food and household costs constitute the major item of expenditure, but a considerable proportion of the imported food is purchased for funerals, feasts and the entertainment of visitors. Part of the food costs may therefore be considered as costs of meeting social obligations. Within the local community, money is distributed through domestic obligations to provide for visitors and kin, and also through ceremonial (usually related to life crises) when cash and other property are exchanged. Probably the greatest cause for its circulation within the community, however, is gambling. Men who are earning wages usually gamble at least once a week and from observation of several games it seems that each player brings from 3/- to £1/-/- or more. Although the winner for the evening usually gives back a token sum to each loser, he retains most of the money himself. It is understood that gambling is widespread in the area.

Seven of the eight families had some cash in hand (we have shown this as "savings" though it was not necessarily specifically set aside as savings). The councillor looked after his own money, most of which he kept in a savings bank account. Only one other man had a savings account, and in it he held both his own and his son-in-law's money. The son-in-law felt reluctant to ask for money from the account except to meet social obligations. Two half-brothers (one married and the other single) gave most of their money to their father who seems to have made the decisions about expenditure for the extended family as a whole. The two other men in the village were responsible for looking after their own savings. As with non-monetary valuables, cash and bank books are usually cared for by women, but they have little or no say in the purposes for which the money is spent.

245 half acres of coffee or cocoa. This would yield no income for
434 the first four years and a maximum of £100 per year thereafter at current prices. This assumes an absence of land problems and crop disease. Even so, the prospect must be heavily discounted because of its uncertainty. Wage labour is now available to a limited extent at a rate of £150 per year in town areas and about £75 per year in rural areas.(1) At the time the coffee was planted, paid employment was scarcer and wages much lower.

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411 Capital: Almost no capital is used in primary pro-
245 duction in Inonda. The few tools needed for small scale production are easily acquired from current income, the land is not an item involving monetary cost, coffee seeds are available from neighbouring gardens and cocoa pods are supplied by the Department of Agriculture at nominal cost. One man in a neighbouring village has a coffee huller in which the Inonda people have small shares, but as the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (to which the Inonda growers belong) provides for all other processing, there is no need for any other equipment in the villages. Although the introduction of capital may increase output, considerable increases in output are possible without it, and capital cannot be regarded as a serious limiting factor in Inonda cash cropping at this stage.

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164 Health: During the period of the survey about 7% of
461 time was accounted for by sickness and caring for the sick, but details of sickness were not recorded for those who were in mourning in their houses. The total for the period is estimated at 10% of all time accounted for. From superficial enquiries malaria seems to be the main cause of illness but other common ailments seen during our stay were filariasis, gastro-enteritis and influenza. The suitability of the diet for sustained hard work is not known, though it was noticed that men seldom work two days in succession on heavy labour like bush clearing (though they performed regular heavy work for wages). On several occasions when the nights were particularly cold the people got up shortly after midnight and sat around fires for the rest of the night to

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(1) Indentured labour is paid less, but relatively few Orokaiva are prepared to accept indenture. Direct comparison of gross incomes from cash cropping as against urban employment ignores the fact that food and housing costs are much higher in towns.

511 177 Capital goods, though few, should be briefly mentioned. Apart from a house and his clothing, the average man owns very little. The sum of his possessions make a very small pile: a bush knife and two or three implements, some kitchen utensils, a small box of feathers and ornaments, usually carefully locked, perhaps a few dollars of savings, and--in both Inonda and Sivepe--an interest in a coffee-hulling machine presented by an anthropologist. About half the people have a storm lantern; two Sivepe men had a pressure lamp, lit on weighty occasions only. With the exception of the valuables, these capital goods are innovations; at the time of the eruption people had far fewer, and these were mostly acquired after the second world war or from American soldiers.

433 433 Comparing the development of Sivepe and Inonda over the last 15 years, we note several significant differences in the exploitation of resources: Sivepe, but not Inonda, has rapidly expanded its coffee production in the 1960's; Sivepe but not Inonda is deriving a significant cash income from "looking after" the wives of migrants. I have referred to several other differences, but these seem to me the most significant, as they do not appear to me to follow directly from ecological differences.

177 concepts drawn from the scene of world affairs. While among the
829 Orokaiva, I heard talk about Vietnam, Indonesia, Africa, India. The
political orientation displayed was a mild kind of nationalism, and
[203] a sense of closeness to newly independent non-white states. But the
information, derived from radio broadcasts and speeches by councillors,
introduced an acculturative kind of perspective. Its dissemination is
being actively encouraged by the Australian authorities.

465 Use of money: Before the eruption, money played a very minor role
[464] in village life. It was earned by men who were away for limited
periods working on plantations. Money wages on plantations were, and
are, extremely low; wages for agreement labour in 1962 were, for
instance, $39 per annum for the first year of which $12 is paid out
in monthly installments and the rest at the end of the year. In the
second year, the rate rose to $45.50 p.a. (Howlett, 1965) Urban wages
are a great deal higher than this; most Sivepe men who were absent
on employment worked on urban jobs. At the same time, a regular
income was derived from coffee.

464 Sivepe men were simply not interested in jobs at plantation
rates of pay, nor were they interested in "carrying" jobs for the
435 government even though wages in that case were higher. They were also
438 indifferent to selling their garden products on the Saiho and Popondetta
markets, as there were frequent gluts, prices were low and carrying
goods to market was an unduly arduous task.

436 Money was used largely to buy goods in the luxury rather than
511 the subsistence sphere. Money was essential for payment of taxes
and for a minimum of clothes, often acquired cheaply at jumble sales.
Otherwise, it was used to buy tobacco, food for feasts, kerosene
mainly used for feasting occasions, cartridges for hunting, again for
feasts. Among the larger purchases made were radios, pressure lamps,
bicycles, tools; all these, however, could never be paid for with
current income. One had to depend on special windfalls: a gift from
459 a relative in town, a bride price. Money was not only for spending,
556 however; it was also for saving. I shall refer to the organisation
of corporate saving later; in addition a number of Sivepe men had
savings, of the order of $10-$20, sometimes more, hidden away. This
money was kept for special occasions, but in addition, the very fact
of possessing it was regarded as important. I was once told that
Europeans were powerful because they had money; the Orokaiva could
get power only if they too possessed savings.

436 If money was definitely highly valued, it was only to a limited
437 extent regarded as a standard of value. If we accept some model such
as was suggested by Salisbury (1962), we may say that the Orokaiva
have three spheres of exchange: a subsistence, luxury and ritual
sphere, while bank notes are used for special, often ritual occasions.
[461] In the acquisition of luxury goods of any kind, including money, the
Orokaiva tend to weigh the benefits gained by them against their cost
in time and unpleasantness and against the benefits that can be gained
from other investments. Money is, in general, wanted only if it can